/204 cont./

*192 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapí

415 a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, 1 (3) /see 4, 1 (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtɛ̃rĩ-tṍ, and a small mortar, pa-mṍ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:pṍ. The bags are obtained from the tururí (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpí there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpí pa-inṍ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7)), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpĩ-tṍ (see 2, a (1)), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

• 855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

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*[192]

Silva-Zerries Mss. (1957-1968) 1962. SQ13 Tucano SQ13

855

[192] Macuú (baharí-be'tó)

Outside of this apparatus they do not know another for the children; who either remain abandoned on the ground or will ride on the hips of their own mother or older sister (38).

[593] [177] "... It is always the women who carry the children. Due to the influence of the civilized, one can see today a father carrying his own child in his arms, but for a short time, while the mother is carrying some other load. In the house one never sees an Indian man holding a child, and even less lulling one to sleep.

when they are not in the arms or in the hammock.

*192 [481 cont.]
534 Mīrī is probably from the same root as mīrī, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wāx-tī appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mīrī. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mīria, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it
778 is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the paje. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this [355] reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

4: Silva--661 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/434 cont./

855 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child
191 will learn her language first (52),

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The
866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53),

[797]

> 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bak tiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

5 Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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The Cubeo are also fond of the young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house.

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kuhuai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so created the bothersome mumblies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has begun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has

[text continues on p. 177]

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother.

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play [illegible] is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement.

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

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